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IMAGE OF THE FAMILY IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY DOCUMENTS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

The family and its functions in the curriculums, textbooks and periodicals of the Horthy era

theses of doctoral dissertation

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DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH TOPIC

Family and its duties have great importance in every era. In the last hundred years, the question of its crisis has been a common subject of scientific polemics. Laics, scientists, researchers and clerics are fighting against the disintegration of the family and the disappearance of some functions - or some fighting for them, because many think that improvement involves transforming and losing functions. (Kulcsár 1971; Hegedűs 1971; Tóth 2001; Neményi–Takács 2005)

The aim of my research was to gather information on how some selected types of documents represent the family and its roles within a period, when the structure and functions have started to change. Within this what exact functions have the family and its members, what roles they have and what kind of values they mediate through the pedagogical documents of the Horthy era. The original plan was to examine the family functions within all the textbooks of the 20th century. By evaluating the documents, I shortly faced an enormous amount of materials until the 1950's, that was necessary to reselect and limited. Thus between the time limits of 1900 and 1950 the Horth era (1919-1945) had been chosen.

THE PURPOSES AND AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

Nowadays, research examining the effects of the modern industrial era on families have been very popular. Between the social sciences the family researches, examination of the changes of the families gained ground in Hungary from the 1960's. However, we can barely find researches focusing on the traditional families' consistency, past and values. We could think that these values, traditions and standards of the traditional families might have been outdated. In my dissertation I am analysing a picture of the families of a transitional period, within the winds of change have already risen, but the traditional family values and ideals are still in people's minds for a long time. A lot of contemporary study proves that traditional gender roles are still determining between the inhabitants of Hungary (Kamarás–Kapitány–Vaskovics 2005). Though the values, standards and traditional activities connected to the family might be outdated or hardly fit to the modern view of life, especially to our everyday life, we can declare that traditional values will be desired in the modern societies as well.

May occur the question, why the standards of the families become obsolete so hard. Many studies prove that, in the beginning of the 21th century, when the dual earner family model have a tradition of decades (Martin–Kats 2003; Blaskó 2009), not only in Hungary, but
in Western Europe, too, women work a lot more than men - and it is possible because the housework is still rather connected with female roles.

My aim was to examine how family was depicted in the selected educational documents. Mostly to analyse the functions, roles and transmitted values of the family and its members in the pedagogical documents of the Horthy era.

**Method of the research**

As a method I have chosen a complex of subject analysis and document analysis in order to be able to make both qualitative and quantitative analysis. Quantitative data helped me a lot with qualitative analysis, but this research is based on the qualitative analysis. My analytical units were the words of the curricula and periodicals, while in the textbooks, where we can find numerous images as well, these were words and images. The analysis is mainly based on texts, pictures are always attached to the texts as illustration. Their iconographic analysis might be another research's subject.

Categorization is an important step of content analysis. There are two methods for categorization (Dárdai 2002), we can talk about pre- or post defined categories. We can find all these categories in my research. focusing on the aim of the research, I have divided these categories into two clearly separated ranges. First includes family and its members, second describes the functions of the family.

a) **Categories of the family**

The following words have been used to describe the family: *family, home, father, mother, parent, man, woman, child, grandfather, grandmother, grandparents*. During the analysis, the word *sibling* have occurred often, and fewer times the word *relative* have appeared, so these categories were applied in my research, too. I was examining how many times they appear in the documents. It was counted once if a word appeared in a sentence or the family was together on the textbooks' images. In this case the family members (parents and children, or grandparents) had to appear together.

I have treated separately the categories of *parents, father* and *mother*, because I was curious about their appearance on their own, mainly the proportion of *mother* and *father*. I have used the same method by the words *grandparents, grandfather* and *grandmother*. In all cases, the research have important result in order to the separated categories.
Those words, that cannot be enlisted into the categories above, they have been categorized as *man* or *woman*. To summarize these categories, I have applied the categories "Men SUMMA" and "Women SUMMA", including all the categories above, so in the first class appear all the *man, father* and *grandfather*, in the second, all the *woman, mother* and *grandmother* categories.

I have enlisted all those words into the category of *child*, that exactly contained the word or we could not decide whether this child was female or male. The word *sibling* appears fewer times in the analysed documents, in this case all the words *brother* and *sister* were categorized as *sibling*. The category of relative, if it occurred, contained the words of *godparents, godmother, cousin*.

b) Categories of the functions of the family

The second class of the value ranges contains the functions of the family, that have been similar in all societies and eras, but they had been differently emphasised during the centuries. I have distinguished economical, consumption, reproduction, socializing and protection of adults.

I have enlisted those cases into *economical function* that mention the economical status of the family or depict family members during work. Eating and shopping were categorized as *consumption*, birth, marriage, divorce and death as *reproduction*. *Protection of adults* contains the care for parents and grandparents.

*Socializing* did worth to divide into more sub-categories, because all the three types of documents main function is education, that has very different areas. So I have distinguished *educational, moral educational, ideological* and *health promotional* sub-functions.

*Educational* function contain all the words and phrases in connection with play, learning and educational activity of the parents. Moral education contains the instructions of good behaviour, *ideological* deals with patriotism and words of *health promotional* are related to prevention and medical treatment.

Within socializing, other categories occurred, so I also examined what *relations* have a family, what *holidays* do they have, what social *standards* they represent, and how does *respect* appear in the documents. To the last sub-category, I have enlisted all the texts that speak about the love of the family members, about their respect to each other, or dealing with the question of authority.
c) Recording of the data

I have recorded and analysed all the data with SPSS Statistics 17.0 software. The presence of both categories were recorded together, but the number of their appearance was recorded separately. I have examined that in what context (in what function) do words from the categories of the family appear. Every category has been given a code number, and every time it has been recorded when an expression appeared - as well the function and its number.

SPSS software is not optimal for qualitative analysis. It comes from the research topic and the method, that statistical calculations become meaningless compared to population. This is why most of the calculations are frequency distributions and cross table analyses, so the software mainly helped data recording and data management. A much bigger part was the qualitative analysis of the documents, with structurally summarized quantitative data, confirmed with citations.

d) Sample

Curricula

The selection of research documents is based on three pillars. Firstly those materials, that are coming from the highest level of educational policy, compiled by the responsible ministry. That is why I have chosen the curricula of the era. Four secular curricula have been published in the determined period of time in Hungary, so we have in the sample the curricula of 1925, 1928, 1932 and 1941. In the same period, more ecclesiastical document have been published besides the secular ones. After all, the choice has been made for one of the biggest religion, so my sample has been expanded with four catholic curricula from the years of 1926, 1931, 1936 and 1942. In the selection of the curricula the work of Horánszky Nándor: Közoktatási tantervek 1868-1971, was a great help (Horánszky 1974).

Textbooks

During the selection, a second viewpoint was to analize those documents that appear at the "end user level", those that children may use, that is why I have chosen textbooks.

The sample of the published textbooks of the dedicated era was taken on the basis of the catalogue Népiskolai tankönyvek 1867-1945 (Public school textbooks 1867-1945). In the
catalogue, we can find the publications in order of classes and subjects. (Hegedűs – Tóthpál 1984) From the subjects I have chosen Literature, because it occurred in the process of curriculum analysis, that the family appears mostly within the subject Hungarian Literature. This subject includes *Excercises in Rhetoric and Comprehension, Reading and Text Analysis, Writing, Composition* and *Orthography*, from those *Reading and Text Analysis* and *Excercises in Rhetoric and Comprehension* contain the most appearance of the family. These parts can be found in textbooks.

In the examined period of time a lot of textbooks have been published, so I had to narrow the number of analyzed documents. First I picked those that have met the time criteria. Considering the publication date, textbooks show a very different distribution, so this method did not give a proper amount of documents. That is why I made a list of the textbooks according to the publishers. As the chart showed up, Lampel and Szent István Társulat have the most publications within the examined period of time. This is why two of the four biggest editors of the era – *Athenaeum, Franklin, Lampel, Szent István Társulat* (Mészáros 1989) – are added to the sample. I have chosen two from the textbooks of Lampel and Szent István Társulat in each class, and these sixteen books have been analysed from 1-4. classes. As we can see clearly between the curricula, there are secular and religious variants as well.

**Pedagogical periodicals**

The third pillar of my research is the analysis of professional publications, especially *periodicals*. The documents I have analysed are addressed not only to professionals, but very often to parents as well.

From the enormous and wide range of periodicals a bibliography, *A magyar nevelésügyi folyóiratok bibliográfiája 1841-1958* gives us guidance and a starting point. I tried to align to two criteria: first, to make a balance between secular and religious publications, secondly these periodicals had to be published throughout all the dedicated era. A lot of periodicals have been published in the analysed period of time, but many of them had been published only for several years. Based on the bibliography mentioned above I have found two periodicals that meet the criteria: *A Gyermek* from the secular ones, and *Katolikus Nevelés* from the Catholics.

We can state that both periodicals were published - with some gap volumes - continuously between 1919 and 1945. To avoid a high difference of the item numbers,
according to the rules of systematic sampling, in the case of *A Gyermek* I have selected every second volume from 1926 to 1934. From 1935 I have chosen every second volume to analyse, in order to have equally five even and odd volume in the sample. Finally, the following volumes have been analysed from the numbers of *A Gyermek*: 1926, 1928, 1930, 1932, 1934, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1943.

I have applied the same method to select the volumes of *Katolikus Nevelés*, but I tried to choose the years left out above. So starting from 1925, I have picked every second volume until 1933, then from 1936 to 1944. In the end, the following volumes have been selected from *Katolikus Nevelés*: 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1944. Thus, analysing ten volume from both periodicals, I could have data from all the years between 1925 and 1944.

Although, the Horthy era lasted from 1919 to 1944, the selection of periodicals started from 1925. It had two reasons: first, the difference of the item numbers, that I have mentioned above yet. Secondly, that the textbooks published in the first half of the first decade of the era are overrepresented comparing to the another half. Thus I have taken the sample of the numerous periodicals from 1925, hoping to be able to make a balance between the dawn and the end of the era.

**THE QUESTIONS OF THE RESEARCH - HYPOTHESES**

The primary goal of this work was to explore the image of the family represented in the pedagogical documents of the Horthy era. I had defined the hypotheses as following:

1.  *In the beginning I suppose that family have a distinguished role and a high incidence in all the three document types: curricula, textbooks and periodicals.*

The word *family* turns up 368 times in the curricula, 251 times in the textbooks and 859 times in the periodicals. In comparison against the total number of elements curricula have the first place, they are followed by periodicals and textbooks. The low number of appearance in the textbooks is very misleading. In the textbooks family appear many more times as it is showed literally. The stories of the textbooks are often demonstrated by family life from the start of the academic year until the next academic year, including the summer activities. I have stated in the beginning of the research that once the family appears in the sentence or in a picture, that makes only one representation and will be recorded only one time. In this case a picture
where the family members appear together, that has been enlisted to the family category. Fragmental representation of a family (one parent with one child) occurred more often, these have been enlisted into their own categories, not into the family category. This means that textbooks deal with families often, but the word itself or its image occurs only 251 times.

If we approach this question from the concept that family can be defined by its members and we count the words like parents, father, mother, grandparents, grandfather, grandmother, child, sibling, we can have a new order of the documents according to their representation of the family. This list shows that the summa of the representation of all the words above (containing all the family members) makes a new order of the documents. So curricula mention family and its members 868 times, textbooks 4428 times and periodicals 5730 times. Nonetheless we can state that representation of the family is very common in the analysed documents, almost all the topics are connected with them. Considering this, we can state that family has an emphasised role in all types of documents.

2. In my next hypothesis I stated that, according to the distribution of the family functions, socializing stands out in all three types of documents. Within socializing, the most common function is the educational.

The first part of my statement was definitely confirmed by both the quantitative and qualitative analysis, because these documents' main purpose is to help children's socializing, so they represent activities that promote this function. In order of appearance family is represented mostly in textbooks, in periodicals, then in curricula within socializing.

The second part of my statement was confirmed only by periodicals and curricula, because only in these two types of documents is educational function overrepresented. In textbooks ideological function is standing out, so we can state that family and its members are represented mostly during the activities of ideological education in the textbooks of the Horthy era.

3. My third hypothesis was connected to the type of the documents, especially that it depends on their religious or secular background how the sub-functions of socializing are represented.

We have a contradictory picture of this question. We cannot find such a result in the curricula, as it seems in catholic documents, family members appear twice more during socializing than
in documents with secular background. The same statement is valid for textbooks, too. In case of periodicals, this tendency turns to opposite, socializing appears more times in secular periodicals. This is because I have completed secular periodicals with the volume of 1925, and this volume has a column dealing with family, and it has increased the total number of elements.

The statement about the difference of sub-categories has been confirmed only by curricula. In secular documents deal more with ideological, religious documents with moral education. In other cases (and types of documents) both sub-categories are overrepresented in catholic publications.

4. *In my fourth statement I suppose that after socializing the most represented categories can be listed as following: economical, consumption, reproduction and protection of adults.*

This hypothesis has been confirmed in the cases of curricula and textbooks. In curricula, socializing is followed by economical, then consumption, reproduction and protection of adults, but the last categories have a very big lag to other categories. If we are examining the main functions in the order of all the categories, we will have a different result: the main functions will fall behind from others. In this case, economical will be the 2nd, consumption the 8th, reproduction the 11th and protection of adults the 12th. Despite this, the sequentiality of the main functions have been confirmed: the economical function is followed by consumption, reproduction and protection of adults in the end.

In textbooks, economical function follows socializing, and the order of the functions remain the same as above: socializing, economical, reproduction and protection of adults. In the summary, main functions' ranking will be lower again, but with the same order: economical (3rd), consumption (5th), reproduction (10th) and protection of adults (12th).

This order becomes a bit different in the periodicals, because socializing is followed by reproduction, then economical, consumption and protection of adults. This list takes shape as the following in the summary: reproduction (3rd), economical (4th), consumption (10th) and protection of adults (12th). The explanation for this phenomena is that periodicals often deal with counselling teenage problems like love, marriage or sexuality, that are enlisted to reproduction function.

Summarizing this, we can state that - except periodicals, where socializing is followed by reproduction - the order of the functions became the same. We have to underline that protection of adults was the only function that was last in all three types of documents, so
none of the pedagogical publications emphasised this function in connection with the family. Based on this fact, we can state that in Hungary the function of protection of adults started to be marginalized in the first half of the 20th Century.

5. *In my fifth statement I supposed that the male members (son, father, grandfather) of the family are overrepresented to the female ones (daughter, mother, grandmother).*

This hypothesis has been verified, because in the curricula we have twice, in the textbooks we have three times more occurrence of the male family members, even in periodicals, but there is not such a significant difference between the indication of male and female members of the family. Examining the summarized categories - where all the male and female categories have been joint - there is even a smaller difference. This is because the periodicals of the era have dealt a lot with the difference between the boys' and girls' education and also with the education of the polite catholic daughter.

There is a difference in the representation of grandparents in the textbooks: grandfather is mentioned twice more than grandmother, but in curricula we cannot find any difference, and in periodicals there is a very small preference for grandfather.

A very interesting fact is that representation of parents works inversely. Mentions of mother - except the textbooks - are at least twice more than fathers. In textbooks mothers appear also more times, but the difference is under 100. In periodical we have twice, in curricula we have three times more occurrence of mother.

Besides quantitative data, we have qualitative evidences in the pedagogical documents for the propaganda of motherhood between the two world wars. Especially interesting the catholic agitation for more children.

6. *In my next hypothesis I suppose that women (mother and grandmother) appear mainly by the educational, moral and health promotional sub-functions of socializing, while men stand out in the ideological education.*

The examination according to my preconception did not produce such a clear result: different categories were prominent in different functions.

In the case of curricula women in health promotion, mother in respect - but there was no occurrence of grandmother.
The hypothesis was verified only by textbooks, because women appeared mostly in educational function, but in moral education men have the first place.

In periodicals women and mother have the first place in order by educational, grandmother by the moral education function.

We can tell about men that they stand out in ideological education in the curricula, secondly in moral education. This has not been verified by the categories of father and grandfather, because first was mentioned mostly by respect, but the second was not mentioned in any of sub-categories.

In textbooks men appear in ideological education, father and grandfather appear mostly in educational functions.

In periodicals men's class is dominant in moral education, but father and grandfather are dominant in educational function.

We have to notice a typical contradiction of the textbooks of the Horthy era, that men, father and grandfather are rather represented in educational function than females. This statement is valid for curricula, too, while in periodicals it is valid only for the classes men and grandfather. In textbooks and periodicals we can get the same interesting result in moral and health promotional education, because men stood out in periodicals in moral education and in health promotional category in the textbooks.

Summarizing we can state that according to men, this hypothesis does not seem to be confirmed.

7. In my research I have supposed that women appear in the documents mainly during housework and consumption function, while men are demonstrated outside the house. Father's duty is to establish the stable financial background of the family and representing the family to the outer world. Father is rather demonstrated working, than with the family.

We can state that it is valid for every types of documents that mother is more often demonstrated by economical and consumption function, than father. Curricula present mother in economical function even more often than educational function. Qualitative analysis have proved that mother's work was always in the house or near that, while father did not share housework. In village families father's activities are on the fields, in urban families father usually works in the office. Every document shows that father's main duty is to establish a stable financial background.
Except the summarized men and women categories, excluding periodicals, men appear more time in economical function that women do. It is also men's duty to represent the family in outer connections, especially in the textbooks.

The last statement of my hypothesis, the demonstrations of father is rather in economical function, was not verified, because in the textbooks and periodicals of the Horthy era father is rather demonstrated with his wife and children.

8. In the next hypothesis I suppose that grandparents appear rarely in the documents. If they do, they are demonstrated by the traditional division of labour: grandmother deals with housework, grandfather takes care for the works outside the house.

Grandparents occurring very rarely in every type of document. If they do, we can see a mixed picture. In curricula, grandparents are mentioned by the educational function, grandfather and grandmother appear rather in economical function. In textbooks, grandfather and grandmother stand out in educational function, while grandparents in the category of respect. There are two remarkable things in connection with textbooks. First, grandfather appear twice more times than grandmother in educational function, secondly, grandmother is often a person to take care of.

If we look at the words demonstration in economical function, we can see a closely equal dispersion in the curricula, but in the other two types of documents we can see grandfather more often at work.

In the end, we can tell that none of these hypotheses has been validated.

Looking at the 6th, 7th and 8th statements, we can tell that traditional gender roles have been swapped in the publications of the Horthy era, because female roles like education, health, moral education are more often connected with men in textbooks, and women are rather demonstrated during work.

9. In the next statement I suppose that demonstration of children and siblings is mainly in educational function, mostly during learning and play.

The statement have been verified in all three types of documents. Children and siblings appear always in socializing, children stand out in educational function. In the qualitative analyses we can clearly see that children are often represented during playing games or learning,
sibling appears often in ideological education. The main reason of this phenomenon is that the textbook titled „A hős honvéd fiai“, contains strongly patriotic thoughts and its main figures are two brothers.

10. *In my last hypothesis I have supposed that relatives are only fragmentally demonstrated in the documents, rather by visitation or holidays, but they do not have any function in the life of the family.*

The first half of the statement can be verified, because they appear in the curricula and textbooks within the economical function, in moral education and relations, while in periodicals in the educational and moral educational functions. So we can tell that their representation is very rare, but very different, and always in socializing function.

**Summarizing the answers to the hypotheses**

Pedagogical documents of the designated era have many interesting details and difference to those expectations that researchers show in contemporary textbooks. So, even if there is no difference in men's representational item number and their duties in the family's financial base, they emerge in different functions. It comes to light that they are more often represented during educational activities (like excursion) with their children, than mother is. Not only in the case of educational function, but in some different task we can see that gender roles have changed while mothers appear more time than fathers in economical function, in parallel, men appear in traditionally female roles (moral education or health promotion).

Transmitting values is a significant role of the documents. Remarkable their patriotic, revisionist, sometimes aggressive tense to heal the wounds of Trianon; militarism, heroism and self-devotion for the homeland are common topics. There is a strong prejudice against the neighbouring nationalities, but a positive thing is the tolerant opening towards Jews.

The value of the unity of the family, judging the only-child-families and mostly the agitation for motherhood are very emphasised in the analysed documents.

There is a very strong moral and religious education, too, for tolerance, taking care of orphans, poor and disabled.

Socializing is the most represented function of the family. Economical and reproduction are following this, then come consumption and protection of adults.
Main results of the research

- The dissertation with its analysis of the image of the family in the pedagogical documents of the Horthy era contributed to make a more differentiated picture of the society of the era.
- The results of the content and document analysis fit to the other researches on the cultural history, educational history and family history.
- The main novelty of this research is its own complex viewpoint on the social history and the structure of the family of the designated era.
- The theoretical background of this research helps this dissertation to show the main trends of the family life of the early 20th century in an interdisciplinary approach with Hungarian and international context.
- The dissertation have enriched the methodology of complex analysis of educational history documents. The applied methods of complex content and documents analysis, use of quantitative and qualitative analytical opportunities have helped to reconstruct the image of the family of the era.

DIRECTIONS OF FUTURE RESEARCHES

The results of the dissertation and the qualitative data could be a base for researches on development of contemporary educational phenomena, if the practical, emotional and mediated values of the era were in the centre of interest.

A lot of new research area have showed up during the research. So it would be useful to analyse more deeply these documents, mainly the mediated historical events in curricula and textbooks to see the attitude of the Hungarian society to the neighbouring countries' foreign policy towards Hungary.

The deeper analysis of the picture of nationalities, ethnicities, ethnic and religious minorities in Hungary could be necessary, emphasising the attitude to the Jews.

A main purpose of this paper was to show the mediated values of the family, but that would be necessary to examine beside a qualitative analysis, a value research based on quantitative data of these documents to see the value preferences of the families and the educational policy.
The pictures and drawings in the examined documents could be subjects of historical-iconographical analysis connected with a content analysis of the pedagogical documents to make a sharper picture of the era.

In the end, based on the results of this research, both the functions of the families and the roles of the family members, even the mediated values of the family, a comparative research could be made on the contemporary textbooks or curricula.

**Analysed curricula**

Tanterv és utasítás a katholikus elemi népiskolák számára. Szent István Társulat, Bp., 1926.
Tanterv és útmutatások a nyolcosztályos népiskola számára. Egyetemi Nyomda, Bp., 1941.

**Analysed textbooks:**

Textbooks of Lampel Kiadó:


Textbooks of Szent István Társulat:


Analysed periodicals:

A Gyermek (The Child):


Katolikus Nevelés (Catholic Education):

Petró László (1940, szerk.): Katolikus Nevelés. Római Katolikus Hittanárok és Hitoktatók Egyesülete, Bp., XXXII. évf., 1, 3., 5., 7., 9.,
Petró László (1944, szerk.): Katolikus Nevelés. Római Katolikus Hittanárok és Hitoktatók Egyesülete, Bp., XXXVI. évf., 1, 3., 5., 7., 9.,

**Literature:**


Publications of the author in connection with the research topic:


Presentations:


